DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 191 091 CS 205 815

AUTHOR Schwarzlose, Richard A.
TITLE The Liverpool Connection: Transatlantic Newspapers in the 1840s.
PUB DATE Aug 80
NOTE 34p.: Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (63rd, Boston, MA, August 9-13, 1980).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Change Agents; Content Analysis; *Foreign Countries; Influences; Journalism; *Media Research; *Newspapers; *News Reporting; Technological Advancement; *United States History

ABSTRACT

The introduction of steam-powered ocean navigation in 1838 made possible the faster delivery of foreign news to United States newspaper offices and also gave rise to a new journalism genre--the transatlantic newspaper. Published on one side of the Atlantic and shipped by steamer for consumption on the other side, transatlantic newspapers compiled and condensed from all available sources the latest political, commercial, and shipping news. Although interded for private subscribers, they were important sources of foreign news for United States newspaper editors. Three such papers, all published in Liverpool, England, were "The European," "Charles Willmer's European Mail," and "Willmer & Smith's European Times." The last-named newspaper, published from 1843 to 1868, was the most influential and successful one. A comparison of the eight available copies of "The European Times" with the New York-based "Herald" and "Tribune" shows that between 1843 and 1848 more than 50% of the foreign news appearing in the two papers was taken verbatim (and usually without credit lines) from the European Times," suggesting that this newspaper had a significant impact on the foreign news presented by the two New York newspapers. (Author/FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED191091

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

History Division

THE LIVERPOOL CONNECTION: TRANSATLANTIC NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1840s

By

Richard A. Schwarzlose

Northwestern University

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Richard A. Schwarzlose

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CS205815

Presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism Annual Convention, Boston, Mass., August 1980.

The Liverpool Connection: Transatlantic Newspapers in the 1840s

> The arrival of the Boston train at 6 p.m. brought Willmer & Smith's European Times.
>
> Albany Argus, Nov. 9, 1846

> A QUAERE TO THE BRITISH MAIL AGENT. How is it that English Newspapers to the press of Boston and New York are required by the new order of the admiralty, to come through the mail, and Willmer & Smith's European Times, to their respective agents, to come in packages outside as usual?
>
> Boston Daily Evening Transcript, Nov. 1, 1848

> The evening before the next steamer was due, [Daniel H.] Craig made up a parcel of old European journals, including Willmer & Smith's European Times, then a very noted journal of Liverpool, taking care to have a portion of the name outside the wrapper, but carefully concealing the date.
>
> James D. Reid, The Telegraph in America (1879)

Willmer & Smith's European Times? This newspaper is not mentioned in the current, nor the older, general histories of journalism.[1] In fact, even Frederic Hudson, managing editor of the New York Herald from about 1837 to 1866, and therefore quite familiar with Willmer & Smith's, does not mention the paper in his copious Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872.[2]

Absence from the current literature notwithstanding, Willmer & Smith's European Times is the chief and most successful example of a genre of newspapers appearing in the early 1840s as transatlantic steam navigation was beginning to assume regular and dependable dimensions. These newspapers, published for the departure of America-bound steamers, summarized all available commercial and general news for readers and newspaper editors in North America.

This paper attempts to introduce these newspaper to journalism's history literature and to explore their role in American newspapers' coverage of foreign news. The surviving historical record of these newspapers is sparse, creating some sketchiness in what follows.

In the pre-telegraph days -- and for foreign news in the pre-cable days[3] -- intercity news movement depended totally on existing transportation systems.[4] Since the transatlantic newspaper first took root in a revolution in transoceanic navigation, those transportation developments will be examined first.

The Steam Transportation Imperative

For Europeans transplanted in North America, news of the Old Country and especially news of British commerce -- the kite to which the American economic system was largely the tail until the Civil War -- was an important, if usually a scarse and out-of-date, commodity. Frank Luther Mott suggests that if colonial newspapers had any news function -- in the present-day sense of "news" -- it was in foreign news. "News from overseas was the great staple of colonial papers," says Mott. "That is what newspaper readers chiefly expected of their papers. . . ."[5]

Until the transatlantic cable transformed foreign news into a sequence of separate and rapidly transmitted news stories, owned, exchanged and distributed by American and foreign wire services, foreign news consisted of the letters and foreign journals brought periodically by ocean-going ships. Some members of the political and commercial communities in this country received private parcels of letters and foreign papers, but for the wider community, American newspapers presented foreign news summaries culled from the editors' correspondence and files of foreign papers.

Up to the 1840s the process of bringing foreign news to American newspaper readers was slow and haphazard. The non-English language press required translation and what was news to editors in foreign capitals was not always newsworthy to American readers. Beyond these drawbacks, however, the chief handicap to receiving foreign news remained

the slowness and irregularity of transatlantic navigation. And for Americans the long wait for later news from England and the Continent was made agonizingly longer by westbound sailing ships having to buck prevailing winds over the more than three thousand nautical miles separating European and American ports.

Mott estimates that in the eighteenth century sailing ships took four to eight weeks to cross the Atlantic with the "latest" British news. Continental news required an additional two to six weeks to reach England. Thus, foreign datelines in American newspapers were regularly two to three months old.[6] Even when clippers and faster packets began appearing in the shipping lanes in the 1830s, foreign news was still one to two months old in American newspapers.[7]

Using reports in U.S. newspapers for ship departures and arrivals on westward passages, Robert Greenhalgh Albion offers a precise picture of the time-lag problem facing American newspaper editors who awaited European news. Assembling data on 2,834 westbound crossings[8] from Liverpool, London, and Havre between 1818 and 1848, Albion finds the common range of passage duration to be between thirty and thirty-nine days over the entire thirty-year period.[9] To Albion "common range" means that a packet had as much of a chance of crossing in thirty as in thirty-nine days (and for all intermediate durations).

Beyond this common range in either direction, the extremely slow passage bedeviled an editor while the fast passages could catch him off guard. The fastest westbound passage during these thirty years was sixteen days, with five trips made in less than twenty days. The slowest westbound passage was eighty-three days with eight trips made in more than seventy days.[10]

On April 23, 1838, New Yorkers rushed to the Battery to gaze at

the steamer Sirius, rolling gently at anchor in the harbor having just completed the first steam ship crossing of the Atlantic. Sensing that steamships would accelerate transatlantic news movement, New York Herald editor James Gordon Bennett booked passage on the Sirius's return trip to England to arrange for regular European correspondence for his paper.[11]

The public on both sides of the Atlantic yearned for more rapid, regular and dependable transatlantic shipping, but in its early stages, oceanic steam navigation was championed particularly by the British political and commercial communities, which sought closer, more intimate contact with the burgeoning American economic and agricultural systems.[12]

The success of the Sirius (and the Great Western, another British steamer which reached New York twelve hours after the Sirius) prompted the British Admiralty to advertise in November 1838 for bids to establish a regular steamer mail and passenger service between England and North America. Samuel Cunard, a Halifax merchant with experience in trans-atlantic shipping and a part-owner of a Quebec-Halifax steamer, had already been thinking about such service and responded with a bid that soon won him the exclusive government mail contract in the North Atlantic corridor.

Cunard's original plan called for four coal-burning ships of 207-foot keels and 34.2-foot beams. Able to transport 115 cabin passengers (no stearage available), the one-funnel side-paddle steamers each had a crew of 89 men and one cow (for milk). While their chief power was a 740-horse-power steam engine, the steamers were also fitted with three masts to augment the engine or to serve as a backup if the engine failed.[13]

Such ships could cross the Atlantic westbound in sixteen or seven-teen days and eastbound in fourteen to sixteen days,[14] the westbound passage being accomplished in only 47.8 per cent of the time required by the average westbound sailing ship in Albion's study. With a fleet

of four steamers, Cunard could run monthly departures from both Liverpool and Boston during the three winter months and twice-monthly departures from each city the rest of the year.

The steamer Britannia left Liverpool at 1 p.m. July 4, 1840, on the service's maiden voyage and arrived in Boston at 10 p.m. July 18. The transatlantic service of the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Ship Company (as the Cunard Line was then called) had begun. In addition to the Britannia, Cunard's original fleet consisted of the Acadia, Caledonia and Columbia.

The Hibernia was added in 1843 and the Cambria in 1845. By January 1848 these six steamers were joined by the America, Canada, Niagara, and Europa and westbound passages were bound alternately for Boston and New York City.[15] Although belching smoke and lumbering along without the sleak demeanor of clipper ships, these Cunarders provided a dependable "ocean ferry," offering American newspaper editors for the first time a regular and rapid (for that period) delivery of foreign news through the columns of European newspapers and correspondence from foreign capitals.

The Early Transatlantic Newspapers

Cunard's new ocean ferry, in addition to being a news story, would not long go unrecognized by enterprising newspaper editors for its news movement potential. Eastern editors, especially those in New York City, had for more than ten years operated sporadic and at times aggressive systems for expressing news dispatches from distant cities and from ships as they entered the harbors of several eastern seaports.[16] But to mesh an effective news movement system with the new Cunard service required a command post in Liverpool. Although one American editor tried to do the job for the American reading audience from New York City, the advantage was clearly with the Liverpool publishers.

Apparently the first person to attempt to organize transatlantic news movement was Dr. John S. Bartlett, editor of the New York Albion, a weekly established by Bartlett on June 22, 1822, as "an organ of English opinion." Hudson notes that the paper "acquired an influential position, and was a useful paper to the British population of the United States."[17]

On January 30, 1841, six months after Cunard began his transatlantic steam service, Bartlett announced in the Albion a "newspaper on a novel plan."

> A Journal on a plan entirely new, will be shortly published in Liverpool, in connection with the "New York Albion," to be called "THE EUROPEAN." Its novelty will consist in being published on the days on which the steamers severally sail, so that it may always bring the very latest news. . . . There is no single publication in Great Britain which occupies this ground, and "The European" will combine all the matter of interest to American readers, of half a dozen British Journals. A comprehensive summary of all the current political, parliamentary, and general news of the day, will be given on one page, while on another will be presented an accurate digest of the Money Market, Cotton Market, and Financial and Mercantile Affairs at large. The proposed publication will indeed supercede a number of Price Currents, Circulars, Shipping Lists, &c., and will put the merchant, the politician, and the man of leisure in possession of all the European intelligence that can interest him, a few minutes after the vessel shall be in port. . . . Advantage will be taken of Mr. Cunard's Steamers whenever their priority of sailing promises a priority of arrival.[18]

The above announcement was repeated in the Albion's Febuary 6 edition, and the first number of The European and General Commercial Intelligencer (subtitled: "Published in Connextion with the New York Albion") was published for Bartlett in Liverpool on February 10, 1841.[19] The first number's departure, however, was postponed about a week because the Liverpool printer had mistakenly thought that The European, because its total distribution would be outside of England, could escape the British stamp tax on newspapers. In consequence, even before the first number reached American shores, Bartlett (forewarned of the stamp tax problem by his

Liverpool printer) was having to announce that the annual subscription to The European would have to go up from $2 to $3 for Albion subscribers, but would remain at $4 for non-subscribers of the Albion.[20]

Finally on March 6, 1841, Bartlett could note the arrival of the first European by the steamer President. His comments below about the first issue and his need to go to Liverpool, indicate the difficulties attending supervision of a publication from three thousand miles away.

> Our agent in Liverpool had many difficulties to contend with, independently of those incident to a "First Number," but it is nevertheless a well filled sheet of excellent matter, and contains what is equivalent to fifteen columns or five-eights of the entire Albion, which renders it the cheapest British paper ever introduced to this country. It is, however, capable of some improvement, and we shall send forward by the President such instructions as may be necessary; it also is the intention of the Proprietor of the Albion to proceed shortly himself to England in order that the European may be made as perfect as possible, and worthy of the patronage of the public.[21]

The author has been able to locate only one copy of The European -- Vol. II, No. 38, dated September 20, 1842. A five-column, four-page paper with type pages measuring 14½ by 22 inches, this issue notes only that it was "printed and published, for the proprietor, by Thomas Carter, of Devonshire-Place, Everton, at the Liverpool Mail-Office, Liver-Court, South Castle-Street, Liverpool."

The first page contains four columns of foreign news organized under thirteen subheadings, liberally attributing items to a wide variety of foreign newspaper sources. British news occupies the fifth column on page one and most of the fourth page. Pages two and three are crammed with commercial summaries and price tables from the Liverpool and London markets. And there is a 1½-column summary of the chief political and commercial news found elsewhere in the paper. A statistical summary of this issue's contents is found in Table 1.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Since the paper did not use whole numbers, its publication frequency cannot be reported with certainty. If one assumes, however, that Volume II began during the week of February 6-12, 1842, The European was publishing every six days, on the average, between February and September of 1842. The European suspended publication on November 4, 1842,[22] for reasons the author has not been able to find recorded. One likely factor, however, was the distance between the proprietor and his newspaper office.

By all indications the second transatlantic newspaper was Willmer's American News Letter, which appeared on September 3, 1842, published in Liverpool, and lasted until September 14, 1845.[23] The author cannot locate a copy of this paper and can only guess about its purpose and publisher. If it is consistent with the practice at that time, the title suggests this paper contained American news for distribution in Europe. If that is the case, the paper's short life may be attributed to the fact that a paper of American news must be published in the United States if it is to be competitive with American newspapers once the steamer reaches Liverpool. The delay involved in reading, summarizing, setting and printing the American news in Liverpool would give the American journals perhaps a twelve-hour head start in the British mails.

Indeed, six months after the demise of the American News Letter the Liverpool firm of Willmer & Smith was announcing a new publication, Willmer & Smith's American Times, to be published in New York City for Liverpool-bound steamers departing from New York and Boston.[24]

Which Willmer is referred to in the News Letter's title is unclear; two Willmers ran publishing houses in Liverpool at this time.

Edward Willmer, born in Windsor on October 25, 1793, after an apprenticeship in Windsor went to work in the office of the Liverpool Chronicle, eventually purchasing that paper. The Chronicle apparently was neither a successful nor noteworthy venture since it consistently

escapes the notice of historians of English journalism.[25] Edward, however, along with David Smith (about whom nothing seems to be recorded) were proprietors of Willmer & Smith's European Times, about which the remainder of this paper is concerned. Edward died May 6, 1869.[26]

Charles Willmer, Edward's nephew, was born in 1819 and after apprenticing in his uncle's Liverpool shop started his own printing business in the same town, founding the Liverpool Northern Daily Times on September 24, 1853. The Times, which lasted only until January 30, 1861, is said to be the first daily paper published in the provinces. Charles then re-established himself in the printing and newspaper business in Birkenhead, a Liverpool suburb, where he died on October 18, 1897.[27]

Before focusing on Edward and his European Times, it should be noted that Charles, too, tried his hand at transatlantic journalism, apparently in competition with his uncle. Charles Willmer's European Mail first appeared on January 19, 1847, four years after Willmer & Smith's European Times had begun its successful run. Charles' paper lasted only two and a half years, until July 11, 1849.[28]

The author can find only No. 6 (August 19, 1847) of Charles Willmer's European Mail, a four-page, six-column sheet much like the other papers described in this paper. (See Table 1 for a summary of this issue's contents.) No. 6 was published for the departure of the Cunarder Caledonia for America, and according to the following statement which appears under the paper's nameplate, Charles published the Mail only for Cunard departures.

> Published at the transatlantic newspaper office, 19, South John Street, Liverpool, by Charles Willmer expressly for transmission by the steam-ships sailing on the 4th and 19th of each month from Liverpool to America.

The departure dates mentioned above were Cunard's at that time. Uncle

Edward's European Times apparently occupied the ground firmly enough to eventually dissuade Charles from continuing.

Willmer & Smith's European Times

Edward Willmer and David Smith were engaged in much more than publishing a transatlantic newspaper. Already in business twenty-four years when they introduced their European Times, these gentlemen, from the earliest number of the European Times forward, advertised an import-export business. They ran a fast express from Liverpool to London, transporting American newspapers, correspondence, and goods from ships arriving in Liverpool. In the other direction, they offered the American public European newspapers, "New and Old Books, Periodicals, Paper, Stationery, Type, and every article used by Booksellers, Stationers, and Printers for a small commission."[29] In 1843 (when the European Times first appeared) the American end of their import-export business was handled by Harnden & Co., an express company based in New York City. By March 5, 1844, they listed Moses Beach of the New York Sun as their New York agent, and two years later they had established their own agency, Willmer & Rogers, in New York.[30]

On January 4, 1843, Willmer & Smith inaugurated what was to become the most successful pre-cable transatlantic newspaper, their European Times. The first issue announced:

> Willmer and Smith's European Times is prepared and published expressly for conveyance by the British & North American Royal Mail Steam Ship CALEDONIA, Capt. LOTT. Editors who may honour us by copying from this paper will particularly oblige by acknowledging the same from "Willmer & Smith's European Times."[31]

The prospectus in the first issue says that because of bias in the British papers and in Bartlett's recently suspended European . . .

> . . . newspaper editors and readers on the other side [of the Atlantic] find, on the arrival of a packet the impos-

> sibility of getting at the correct view of the . . . events which have occurred in the interim except at a considerable sacrifice of time and labor.[32]

The proprietors promised a news summary that was concise and balanced, a better representation of British affairs and more easily used by American newspaper editors.

> [E]very item of intelligence worth recording . . . has been condensed according to its relative importance; the facts have been preserved, but stripped of all redundancy. . . . A vast number of interesting events . . . are obliged to be entirely excluded from the American press, owing to the diffuseness with which they are narrated and the impossibility of finding time, in the hurry and bustle attending the arrival of a packet or steamer, to condense and arrange them satisfactorily. . . . It is not intended to supersede the London and other papers, but rather, by presenting their contents in a striking view, and at a glance, to afford the readers of the more voluminous journals the choice of perusing their contents when time and opportunity enable them to do so with advantage.[33]

The formula worked. The paper remained in print until September 27, 1868, or little more than two years after the first successful Atlantic cable opened for service. And at least during the early years (to be discussed below), the European Times was a staple in the foreign news coverage of some of America's leading daily newspapers.

The author has been able to locate only eight issues of Willmer & Smith's European Times, and because they form the basis of this paper's examination of transatlantic journalism in the 1840s, they are listed below, along with the steamer that transported them.[34]

No. 1 -- Wednesday, January 4, 1843 (for the Caledonia)

No. 6 -- Wednesday, April 19, 1843 (for the Hibernia)

No. 28 — Tuesday, March 5, 1844 (for the Caledonia)

No. 152 — Wednesday, March 4, 1846 (for the Hibernia)

No. 161 — Tuesday, May 5, 1846 (for the Britannia)

No. 225 — Wednesday, August 4, 1847 (for the Cambria)

No. 230 — Saturday, September 4, 1847 (for the Britannia)

No. 249 — Saturday, January 29, 1848 (for the Hibernia)

There is no way of knowing how and why these issues were tucked away and long ago and have survived to the present. A special significance always attaches to a "first number," and Nos. 28 and 152 contain news of some historic importance (as noted below). But in light of the fact that these eight issues are all that turned up after an exhaustive search of American sources, they will have to be considered a "representative" or "random" sampling of the European Times between January 1843 and January 1848.

It happens that all eight of these issues were published for departures of Cunard steamers, but the European Times, at least by its third month of operation, was "prepared and published expressly for transmission by all the steam ships sailing from England to the United States, Canada, and the West Indies" (emphasis added), according to a statement under the paper's nameplate on April 19, 1843.

Comparing time intervals and whole issue numbers, one finds that the paper was being published every 17.5 days during the first three months, every 14.59 days during the next eleven months, and thereafter on a schedule averaging one issue every six days.

A six-column paper through 1848, Willmer & Smith's type page measured 21 by 15½ inches in the three 1843-44 issues, 23½ by 15½ inches in the four 1846-47 issues, and 23 by 15½ in the lone 1848 issue under study. The nameplate on the first three issues is a stylized hand-tooled 60-point Black Letter face stretching across the entire width of the front page. By 1846 a less bold, more tasteful, but still hand-tooled 72-point Black Letter face crowned the front page.

Also by 1846 an eagle in flight had replaced a tableau representing the passage of time under the nameplate. But by August 1847 the eagle had been replaced with cuts representing the steamers on which

the papers would travel.

Table 2 summarizes the contents of these eight issues. Only one issue before 1848 had eight pages and that one (No. 28) devoted two full pages to stenographic reports of the Irish State Trials in 1844 (including a speech to the court by defendant Daniel O'Connell) and one and a third pages on the debates of Parliament. These accounts gave the issue more than 50 per cent straight news content.

/TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE/

Issue No. 152, with more than 40 per cent straight news, carried long stories on Prime Minister Robert Peel's new financial program, the Oregon question, and bloody battles between British soldiers and Sikhs in India.

Otherwise, less than a third of the remaining five issues was devoted to general news, the bulk given over for commercial summaries, market news and quotations, to which shipping news should be added because of its primarily commercial appeal.

Ordinarily advertising, usually confined to the first page, appealed to commercial or traveler interests, and seems expendable (as in the case of No. 152) when news was lengthy or significant.

Like other transatlantic newspapers discussed here (Tables 1 and 2 can be compared to get a sense of the commonality among these papers.), the European Times regularly cited the journals it used as sources, and provided, in addition to the detailed news accounts, a two- to four-column summary of each issue's contents, both political and commercial. The paper contained a few items, especially after 1844, on British theatre and literature, fashions, "sporting intelligence," and court news.

One will note in Table 2 a degree of flexibility in the emphasis

placed on domestic and foreign news, indicating a sensitivity to newsworthiness and the freshness of available news. Such flexibility, however, functioned within a standing policy which reserved most of page three and all of page four for market tables, quotations, and commercial summaries. In most respects, however, the European Times could be mistaken for an 1840s American daily newspaper.

Repeated efforts have failed to uncover the reasons why the European Times died on September 27, 1868. Completion two years earlier of the first successful transatlantic cable probably contributed to its demise, especially since American newspaper editors could receive all the foreign news they needed for their daily editions via the cable. Edward Willmer was approaching his 75th birthday in September 1868, but the author can find no indiciation that he was still active in the enterprise at that time.

Whatever the cause of its suspension, Willmer & Smith's European Times, according to references to it in American newspapers, was clearly the most successful example of transatlantic newspaper journalism in the mid-nineteenth century, spanning more than twenty-five years of continuous publication. The paper's utility for the American reading public cannot be measured, but its impact on sectors of American journalism can, and will be measured in the next section.

Willmer & Smith's News in the New York Herald

Using the eight available issues of Willmer & Smith's European Times, the author searched the files of the New York Herald to discover the extent to which the Herald relied upon the Times for foreign news. (For the two most recent issues, the New York Tribune was also studied.)

The Herald was chosen for comparison with the European Times because of its availability and because its reputation for aggressive newsgathering and for seeking exclusive dispatches suggests that the Herald

might want to rely on its own correspondents, expresses and exclusives more than on something as commonly circulated as Willmer & Smith's. (As previously noted, Herald editor James Gordon Bennett returned on the steamer Sirius in 1838 to establish a network of European correspondents for his paper.)

Thus, to test as strenuously as possible the impact of Willmer & Smith's European Times on foreign news coverage in American papers, the Herald seemed a sterner point of comparison than, for example, Horace Greeley's New York Tribune which gave less space and effort to general news coverage and usually avoided running expresses and scampering after hard news exclusives.

To make the comparison even more demanding, rewrites did not count. Copy in the Herald was designated as coming from Willmer & Smith's only when the stories appeared in identical wording in both papers. This is not a foo proof criterion, of course; both the Herald and the European Times could take the same story from the Times of London for example. But experience with these issues teaches that Willmer & Smith usually rewrote stories they lifted from other papers, often combining (with complete attribution) accounts from several newspapers in a single news dispatch.

Table 3 gives the results of the comparison between the European Times and the Herald (and later the Tribune). While the range of verbatim similarity among the papers extends from 31.12 per cent of the Herald's foreign file (on August 20, 1847) to 94.91 per cent in the Herald (on March 20, 1846), the average duplication in the Herald's foreign news columns is 54.68 per cent. That is a sizeable volume of copy lifted from the European Times, especially when one considers: (1) how infrequently the Liverpool paper is credited by the Herald for the former's news in the

latter's columns and (2) that 100 per cent here includes all headlines and cuts, the standard opening paragraph describing the steamer's arrival in Boston, and several column inches of short paragraphs at the start of the Herald's dispatch previewing the news found elsewhere in the dispatch.

/TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE/

The fluctuations noted in Table 3 in the Herald's generally liberal use of Willmer & Smith's news stories are related to several factors. The following discussion will attempt to reconstruct the Herald's response to the arrival of each issue of the European Times under study here.

First, the reader should know that foreign papers were compositors' physical copy in American newspaper shops. Appendix A shows the lower lefthand corner of page two of Willmer & Smith's European Times for April 19, 1843, (No. 6). In the margin of page one of this issue is penned the word "Gazette," indicating that this copy was probably delivered to a newspaper office. The portion of page two shown in Appendix A is marked in pen by the editor of that "Gazette" for the typesetters.

The Caledonia arrived in Boston on Thursday morning, January 26, 1843, carrying copies of Willmer & Smith's first number. The mails brought the European Times along with other European papers early enough Thursday afternoon for the Herald to give over all of its first page and 1½ columns on page two to foreign news on Friday morning (January 27). This was the first time that Bennett and his managing editor, Frederic Hudson, had seen Willmer & Smith's, but they found enough in the new paper to fill over one-third of their foreign dispatch.

Almost none of the Herald's over two columns of market news on January 27 came from Willmer & Smith's. The Herald, no doubt, was accustomed to relying on another paper for its commercial news, and frankly

in comparison with later issues, Willmer & Smith did not present a very comprehensive and well organized market section in their first number.

Willmer & Smith's No. 6 (dated April 19, 1843) arrived in Boston at 5 a.m. Thursday, May 4, aboard the Hibernia. The Herald on May 6 says:

> We are much indebted to Harnden & Co. [still Willmer & Smith's New York agent] for the very early delivery of our foreign files. Their messenger reached our office before five o'clock yesterday [Friday] morning.

Saturday morning's Herald (May 6) gave its foreign news file almost identical play to that of January 27, 1843. This time, however, Willmer & Smith's European Times accounted for 51.93 per cent of the Herald's copy. The increase in the percentage over that of three and a half months earlier is caused largely by a column of market news the Herald took directly from the European Times. Willmer & Smith had done a much better job with the markets than in their first number.

No. 28, an eight-page Willmer & Smith's, contained news of the conviction of Daniel O'Connell in the Irish State Trials. It arrived on the Caledonia at Boston Wednesday morning, March 22, 1844. The Herald, still not in the habit of running its own expresses from Boston or issuing extras on the arrival of steamers, relied on "Adams' dashing express line" for its file and was able to clear five and two-thirds columns on pages two and three of Thursday's afternoon edition (March 23) for its foreign file.[35] The Herald's use of Willmer & Smith's copy runs to a level almost identical to that of May 6, 1843.

This time, however, the Herald in the fourth paragraph of its foreign file acknowledges its Liverpool source: "We are indebted to Wilmer [sic] & Smith's European Times for a large portion of our summary of news." And twelve column inches later the following appears as a regular foreign news item:

> Wilmer [sic] & Smith of Liverpool, acting as the corres-

> pondents of the London morning papers, ran an express on the 18th ult., by railway, with a report of the Irish State trials, and travelled from Liverpool to Birmingham, 98 miles, in 2 hours and 29 minutes.

This item was lifted from page four, column six, of Willmer & Smith's.

The Hibernia settled into its Boston berth at 9 a.m. Thursday, March 19, 1846, amid a national sensation for European news: the Oregon question was pending and Parliament was considering extending trade. For the editor of the Herald these were especially anxious days because, rumor had it, the Tribune in league with other New York papers had sent the pilot boat William J. Romer to England to secure later news on the Oregon treaty -- in common opposition to the Herald.[36]

Fearing the competition's Romer scheme, the Herald had run a fast express from Boston upon the arrival of the Cambria in late February, but neither the Romer nor significant news of the Oregon question had materialized at that time. The Hibernia's news (including Willmer & Smith's No. 152), therefore, was treated by the Herald somewhat more leisurely in transit (especially when it had been ascertained that the Romer was no where in sight). But the Herald did put on a massive display of foreign news enterprise once the files arrived from Boston.

In the Herald's March 20, 1846, issue all of pages one and two and three-fourths of page three are devoted to foreign news. It is the largest foreign news file this study encountered in the Herald. And in their rush to depict themselves as foreign news leaders, the Herald's editors lifted 94.91 per cent of their dispatch directly from Willmer & Smith's! They took whole stock tables, the entire stenographic report of Parliament's trade debate, even a long poem, from the European Times. One dispatch appearing in both papers begins "Our columns to-day contain a record of two territorial battles. . . ." (They were Willmer & Smith's "columns" before the Herald got hold of them!) More than half of the

copy in the four-page European Times for March 4, 1846, appears in the Herald for March 20, 1846. In exchange for this journalistic rape, the Herald granted the Times five creditlines, none of which giving the Liverpool source's name correctly.

Two months later, journalistic passions having cooled, Willmer & Smith's No. 161 arrived in Boston on the Britannia at 6:30 a.m. May 21. Via a moderate express effort the Herald secured its foreign files in time for the morning edition on May 22, using nine columns on pages two and three for foreign news. The Herald filled two-thirds of its foreign dispatch with Willmer & Smith's copy, including news of England, the Continent, "London and Paris Fashions for May," and the British and Continental markets.

At this point is is important to note that on June 27, 1846, the first telegraph line between Boston and New York City was opened for service, and on July 18, 1846, leading New York City newspapers began carrying identical common telegraphic dispatches of foreign news brought by the steamers arriving at Boston.[37]

The arrival in Boston of Willmer & Smith's No. 225 on the Cambria on August 18, 1847, is this study's first opportunity to see how the new telegraph line affected the Herald's use of Willmer & Smith's European Times. The Herald for August 19 states at the head of a two-column telegraphic dispatch based on the Cambria's arrival:

> About five o'clock the Cambria reached her pier. Our special messenger boarded and obtained the latest intelligence, and immediately transmitted the despatch, made up in Liverpool for us. (Emphasis added.)

The same telegraphic dispatch appeared in other leading New York papers that day. The New York editors apparently had an agent in Liverpool preparing their telegraphic dispatches for immediate transmission from Boston upon the steamers' arrivals. Without such preparations, valuable

time would be lost by a Boston agent having to peruse the foreign papers and make up a telegraphic dispatch after the steamer arrived. Nothing in this dispatch on August 19 was taken from the issue of Willmer & Smith's European Times that accompanied that dispatch on the Cambria.

The next day, however, the Herald, with its file of foreign papers now at hand, devoted nearly seven columns to foreign news. It was somewhat abbreviated coverage, having been preceded by two extra editions of the Herald. Willmer & Smith's news copy in the Herald was at its lowest of this study, but there is evidence that about 2½ columns of Herald copy is rewritten and condensed Willmer & Smith's copy. (The Herald appears to have eliminated articles, adjectives and some verbs from European Times market reports. These stories though are not recorded as duplicate copy in Table 3.)

The last two available numbers of Willmer & Smith's are treated in the same way by the Herald as in August 1847. An early telegraphic dispatch bearing no resemblance to European Times copy ran in common in the leading New York papers. (The Herald on September 20, 1847, states at the head of its telegraphic dispatch: "We now give the special despatch prepared in Liverpool for the New York Herald." But a column and a half of what follows in the Herald also appears in the Tribune on the same date.)

One day after the telegraphic dispatches from Boston, the Herald reverted to its pre-telegraph policy of running lengthy files of foreign news drawn from correspondence and foreign papers. The Herald's use of Willmer & Smith's European Times in these second-day dispatches continued at pre-telegraph levels of about 50 per cent, as Table 3 notes.

Greeley's Tribune, by 1847-48 almost as old as the Herald was when the European Times was introduced, was also compared with the European

Times' last two available issues. Figures in Table 3 regarding the Tribune indicate that on these two occasions the Tribune ran shorter second-day foreign dispatches than the Herald and relied even more heavily on Willmer & Smith's than the Herald.

Conclusion

Admittedly not a comprehensive look at transatlantic newspapers and their impact on American journalism, this study has attempted to present the available evidence and to suggest that transatlantic newspapers were a significant journalistic enterprise in the years following introduction of the steam powered "ocean ferry."

Transatlantic newspapers arose spontaneously in response to a transportation breakthrough and a long-felt need for faster transmission of foreign news. Their sponteneity, however, was not without its false starts — one does not attempt to run a transatlantic newspaper from three thousand miles away and to be competitive, one must publish news summaries in the city of a steamer's departure, not arrival.

How well Willmer & Smith's summaries of American news for European consumption operated cannot be ascertained, nor can the impact of their European Times on subscribing Americans be measured. But if a comparison of dispatches in the European Times and the Herald (and later in the Tribune) is any indication, Edward Willmer and David Smith were leaving their mark on American newspaper coverage of foreign affairs in the 1840s to a striking extent. While these Liverpool publishers apparently rewrote and condensed the newspaper sources they used (and rigorously credited those sources), the New York publishers studied here lifted stories, even columns, verbatim from the European Times (usually failing to credit their Liverpool source, but letting that source's credits stand, giving the false impression that the New York publishers had searched for foreign news as widely as Willmer & Smith had).

The norm of reliance by the Herald on the European Times was more than half of the Herald's foreign news dispatches (and more than that for the two Tribunes studied here), and such reliance extended to all types of news presented in the columns of the European Times. Willmer & Smith were, it appears, providing a form of printed wire service product, not unlike the printed sheets of Associated Press Newsfeatures received and picked over by American newspaper editors today.

The author is frankly startled by the implications of these findings. If in the brief glimpses of foreign news movement presented here, one finds British publishers in Liverpool influencing to such an extent the foreign news being read in 1840s American newspapers, the news reports offered by American publishers historically require much more careful examination than they have been given to date. We may have considerably more to learn about the techniques and quality of the news report in history than we think.

Table 1.

Content of The European and Charles Willmer's European Mail
(Percentages of Total Column Inches)

Newspaper & Date	THE EUROPEAN Sept. 20, 1842	C. WILLMER'S EUROPEAN MAIL Aug. 19, 1847
News Summaries	41.07%	39.07%
Domestic	---	(29.23)
Foreign	---	(9.84)
Misc. Short Items	2.50	5.19
Editor's Overview of News	8.33	5.37
Commercial Summaries	3.10	9.11
Market Stories & Tables	32.98	27.96
Shipping News	10.00	9.38
Editor's Notices	1.19	0.46
Advertising	0.83	3.46
TOTALS	100.00%	100.00%
Total Column Inches	420	549
Total Pages	4	4

N.B.: Tables 1 and 2 are similarly arranged to allow for comparison among all three newspapers whose contents were analyzed in this study.

Table 2.

Content of Willmer & Smith's European Times
(Percentages of Total Column Inches)

Issue Number & Date	No. 1 1/4/43	No. 6 4/19/43	No. 28 3/5/44	No. 152 3/4/46	No. 161 5/5/46	No. 225 8/4/47	No. 230 9/4/47	No. 249 1/29/48
News Summaries	31.49%	27.68%	55.70%	42.83%	24.12%	32.21%	18.73%	29.93%
Domestic	(17.81)	(20.68)	(49.49)	(21.88)	(11.64)	(20.97)	(7.40)	(17.27)
Foreign	(13.68)	(7.00)	(6.21)	(20.95)	(12.48)	(11.24)	(11.33)	(12.66)
Misc. Short Items	3.29	1.65	2.73	0.93	5.68	2.25	4.21	6.78
Editor's Overview of News	---	5.45	3.64	6.52	3.72	2.43	7.87	13.75
Letters to the Editor	---	---	---	---	2.89	---	---	---
Commercial Summaries	---	2.37	1.01	11.27	18.53	17.23	21.53	20.62
Market Stories & Tables	26.03	24.79	12.63	23.56	24.86	23.41	25.84	12.72
Shipping News	11.52	12.96	9.80	11.45	10.34	12.92	17.23	7.77
Editor's Notices	5.45	2.88	1.46	1.21	2.23	0.94	0.84	0.80
Advertising	22.22	22.22	13.03	2.23	7.63	8.61	3.75	7.63
TOTALS	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total Column Inches	486	486	990	537	537	534	534	1,062
Total Pages	4	4	8	4	4	4	4	8

N.B.: Tables 1 and 2 are similarly arranged to allow for comparison among all three newspapers whose contents were analyzed in this study.

Table 3.

New York Herald's and Tribune's Use of Willmer & Smith's European Times, Selected Numbers: 1843-48

Date of N.Y. Papers' Issue	N.Y. Papers' Foreign News Pages	Inches*	% of N.Y. Papers' Foreign News taken from Europ. Times**	N.Y.Papers' Credits to Europ. Times	Date of Compared European Times
NEW YORK HERALD					
Jan. 27, 1843	1-2	121.75	36.14%	2-Willmer & Smith's Times*** 3-Wilmer & Smith's Times	Jan. 4, 1843
May 6, 1843	1-2	116.50	51.93	1-Wilmer & Smith's Times	April 19, 1843
March 23, 1844	2-3	98.75	51.90	(a)	March 5, 1844
March 20, 1846	1-3	285.00	94.91	2-Wilmer's Times 1-Willmer's Times 1-Wilmer & Smith's Times 1-Wilmer's Liverpool Times	March 4, 1846
May 22, 1846	2-3	120.50	67.84	2-Liverpool Times 1-Wilmer's Liverpool Times	May 5, 1846
Aug. 20, 1847	1-2	109.25	31.12	1-Wilmer's Times 1-Liverpool Times	Aug. 4, 1847
Sept. 21, 1847	1-3	199.00	55.78	1-European Times 1-Wilmer's Liverpool Times	Sept. 4, 1847
Feb. 17, 1848	1-2	146.25	47.86	1-European Times	Jan. 29, 1848
NEW YORK TRIBUNE					
Sept. 21, 1847	1	107.25	75.75	1-Willmer & Smith's European Times	Sept. 4, 1847
Feb. 17, 1848	2-3	94.75	56.99	(b)	Jan. 29, 1848

* Column inches were measured on photocopies taken from microfilm. The author estimates the actual column length at 10% greater than these figures.

** Only Shipping News was excluded from the comparison of the Times and the New York papers.

*** The numbers beside the creditlines indicate the number of times each line appeared in the N.Y. paper's foreign news dispatch.

(a) Only credit is: "We are indebted to Wilmer & Smith's European Times for a large portion of our summary of news." (4th graph of foreign news file)

(b) Only credit is: "We are indebted to Messrs. Willmer & Rodgers, Wall st. for copies of Willmer & Smith's European Times." (2nd graph of foreign news file)

Appendix A

Willmer & Smith's European Times, No. 6 (April 19, 1843), page two.

Showing editing for typesetting.

FRENCH ACQUISITIONS IN TH

There can be little doubt that the occup in the Pacific by France is part of a comp deliberately-adopted system of policy: it is, therefore, of some importance that the objects of that system should be discovered, and their bearing upon the interests of this country dispassionately examined.

The crotchet of supplying France with home-grown sugar from the beet-root is about to be finally abandoned. It is now proposed, with a view to encourage the mercantile navy and colonial trade of France, that the making of beet-root sugar in France shall be prohibited, and the proprietors be fully indemnified for their outlays. At the same time that this is proposed, the French Government begins to extend its foreign settlements. In Africa, a territory has been acquired on the Western coast of the Red Sea, just within the Straits of Babelmandel; and arrangements are making for forming settlements on the West coast of Africa at the mouth of the Gaboons, on or near the Delta of the Niger, and in the neighbourhood of Cape Palmas. Great pains have been taken to procure the best information from the exploratory missions of the Pasha of Egypt respecting the physical features and productions of the country on the upper course of the White Nile; which river appears to afford an easy access to the centre of Africa, nearly midway between the new French settlement on the East coast and the projected settlements on the West coast. Again, the Society Islands, which have been "taken into French protection," are excellently adapted for the growth of the sugar-cane, and conveniently situated for attracting a large share of the growing commerce of the Pacific. The strengthening of the French post on the island of Madagascar, and the problematical intentions of the French Government respecting that country would scarcely deserve notice but for their bearing upon the other "overt acts." It only remains to add, that some of the leaders of public opinion in France have been of late years turning their attention to the Wakefield theory of Colonization, and appear to understand its principles thoroughly, and to be impressed with a deep sense of its importance.

These facts seem to admit of only one interpretation—that the French authorities are at this moment earnestly bent upon developing a system of national policy which shall give France a mercantile navy and a colonial trade. And there can be little doubt that if the attempt be judiciously made, upon sound and liberal principles, it must be highly conducive to the economical prosperity of France.

England has no reason to be jealous of these efforts on the part of France. If our neighbours attempt to conquer rather than colonize—if they seek to multiply Algerias rather than to found commercial communities—they will fail: if they attempt to create a colonial system upon the obsolete principles of privileges and restrictions, they will fail; and if they fail, we are neither better nor worse. If, on the other hand, they found colonies upon principles of free intercourse, every advance their settlements make in prosperity may be made a clear gain to the neighbouring colonies of Great Britain. Before some recent injudicious tampering, the most lucrative branch of trade in the French settlements on the Senegal and the British settlements on the Gambia was the trade between these two colonies. There is room enough in the wide world for all the nations of Europe to colonize to their hearts' desire; and the trade which may be carried on between communities of intelligent Frenchmen and Englishmen established in the Pacific is likely to be mutually profitable to a far greater extent than any traffic confined to the natives alone could be to either.

Lord Aberdeen, therefore, judged wisely in not irritating the French by any unavailing attempt to obstruct them in their new acquisitions. The true policy of a British Minister is, by avoiding as much as possible all occasions of giving umbrage to France, to facilitate the adoption of less restricted commercial intercourse, not only between the two mother-countries, but between all their colonies and dependencies.

As for the attempt to make the mutual jealousies of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries an ingredient of the question, it is to be hoped that both the French and English Governments will see the propriety of abstaining from making themselves sectarian partisans, and of uniting to hold the balance even between the rival priesthoods.—*Spectator*

EIGHTEEN VESSELS TOTALLY LOST.—The late north-easterly winds have, we regret to say, been productive of the most disastrous shipwrecks along different parts of the coast, though happily unattended with loss of life, arising from the alacrity and efficiency of the Coast Guard service and their boatmen. During the last three weeks upwards of eighteen vessels are known to have been wrecked.

porary, many, perhaps, to permanent destitution, has

in his
"in-
le has,
ut the
pointed
ch ha
on the

public mind, will be found in another column.

The most important intelligence as regards the West Indies which this packet conveys, is the failure of Mr. Ellis to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the Brazils, and the speedy return of that gentleman. That he *has* failed is now indisputable, and the cause of his failure is duly analysed in a debate which took place in the Chamber of Deputies at Rio, brought by the last packet. All parties seem to view the result of his negotiations with regret, for, however unpalatable it may sound in the West Indies, free-trade principles are carrying all before them in England, advocated as they are in theory by the pro-ministerialists, with the exception of a small but powerful section; and carried out to their fullest extent, by all sections of what is called the Liberal party, not excepting, inconsistent as it may seem, even the bulk of the Anti-Slavery party. Free-trade doctrines are fashionable at present—circumstances have made them so. The West Indians will not, of course, break their hearts at the non-admission of the slave-grown sugar and coffee of Brazil on terms of rivalry with their own, as it is staring off the evil day a little longer, and enabling them to prepare for it more effectually when it does arrive. For years past, every thing has pointed to the conclusion that the Prime Minister of the day, whoever he might happen to be—whether Peel or Melbourne—would, of necessity, be compelled to relax the protection to West India produce, and those who have not set about preparing for such an emergency have been very short-sighted. A ministry is at present in power inclined to do justice to the West Indies; but still, with this advantage, the adage has lost none of its force,—Help yourselves, and Heaven will help you.

Parliament has adjourned for the Easter holydays, and will meet again on the 24th. With the exception of the United States, the debates during the last fortnight have only possessed a domestic interest. One of the most important measures of the session—the Government scheme for the education of young persons in factories and elsewhere, which was unfolded six weeks ago in a comprehensive statement by Sir James Graham, has experienced, since the introduction of the bill into the House of Commons, a hurricane of opposition from all classes of dissenters—from every one, in short, who differs from the Church of England. The complaint is, that the provisions of the new measure arbitrarily place the education of the rising and future generations in the exclusive keeping of churchmen; that the object is, not education, but proselytism; that dissenters, as they contribute equally with churchmen to the exigencies of the state, are entitled to a fair share in the education of the poor, and especially of their own poor. These and other objections to the new measure have been urged with more or less force at various meetings in the metropolis and the country. A body, which of late years has worked very cordially with the Established Church—the Wesleyan Methodists—are also up in arms, and so furious has been the agitation, that Sir James Graham was obliged to acknowledge, before the adjournment took place, that important modifications would be made in the measure after Easter. That a judicious system of education for the lower classes has long been wanted, and ought years ago to have been carried out by the British, as it has been by other European governments, is unquestionable; but, to be effective, it must be popular with all classes. This is a consummation difficult, indeed, to realize; but the Government must try, and no doubt will, as far as practicable, to denude it of every feature likely to provoke reasonable hostility. Lord John Russell is to move a series of resolutions when Parliament meets, calculated, he thinks, to meet the objections of the dissenters. In the meantime, the measure is discussed

bearing—too much strength, too much blood, sinews, the best remedy for which is a system of emigration, carried out in a liberal and enlightened spirit. The advantages are felt to be incalculable, and a *coup-de-main* by the government, at no distant day, is inevitable.

Amongst the novelties of the day may be noticed the speedy departure of Mr. O'Connell's eldest son for the United States, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Steele, to organize an agitation there for the more speedy repeal of the union—an Irish method, truly, going so far abroad to carry a project at home. Pecuniary, rather than patriotic motives, it is uncharitably assumed, influence the mission. But Jonathan is in very bad condition now for being "plucked." As the sire is not very popular in the great Republic, it can hardly be expected that the son will be, and he will act cautiously in not going too far south—the more bracing atmosphere of the north will better agree with his nerves.

The British arms, it would seem from reference to the [illegible] by the last Overland Mail in another column, continue to be triumphant in India, but the cause of the quarrel with the Ameers of Scinde, and their subsequent slaughter, are any thing but creditable to Lord Ellenborough and his policy. The journals of all parties in India and in England have denounced it.

COMMERCIAL SUMMARY.

As the time approaches for the admission of Canadian wheat and flour at a fixed duty, hopes on the one hand, and *fears* on the other, are felt and expressed respecting the probable working of the new measure. That it is viewed with considerable jealousy by the agricultural party in both Houses of Parliament, is undeniable. The movements of Sir Robert Peel in the direction of free trade during the last session, produced a mutiny amongst the country gentlemen, the suppression of which was a matter of no little difficulty; and their fears are again seriously worked upon by the knowledge of the fact that a bill will be introduced after Easter for legalizing the admission of North American grain, at a low rate of duty. The farmers are in a very bad temper at the present time: the price of produce is low, owing to the inability of the labouring classes to buy it, the natural result of the late manufacturing depression; and not knowing very clearly the *cause* of the shoe pinching, though *where* it pinches they, poor fellows, know acutely—to talk of bringing in Canadian and United States wheat and flour in immense quantities, is enough to drive them mad. The tillers of the soil in Britain have no very clear ideas of political economy, though it is but just to say that the last two or three years have done much in giving them clearer notions of their own interest, and many practical farmers begin to see that the Corn Law is merely a law for keeping up *rents*, for the benefit of the landlord, and the ruin of the tenant; and that agriculture, as one of the main branches of the body corporate, must rise or fall, flourish or decay, with the general prosperity or decline of the country.

Apropos of Canadian produce, an article, attributed to Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, one of the most accomplished and rising young statesmen attached to the Conservative party, which appears in the last number of the *Foreign and Colonial Quarterly Review*, has excited a good deal of attention. The article, which treats of Canada and its resources, is devoted to an exposition of the bearing which the new and enlarged policy of the mother country will have upon that important colony. It has been vigorously assailed by the opposition papers, and certain discrepancies between the principles advocated in the House of Commons, by the assumed writer, and those put forth in the *Review*, are pointed out and stringently commented upon.

The manufacturing districts of Lancashire—the great emporium of the cotton trade—continue in a healthy, if not a buoyant state. Business, as compared with the dulness which marked the closing of the last, and the opening of the present year, exhibits a new activity. There is more doing, better prices are realized, higher wages are given, and greater confidence prevails.

[1] No mention of Willmer & Smith's European Times, nor any other transatlantic newspaper mentioned in this paper, could be found either in the appropriate text sections or the indexes of: Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978); Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962); Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America (New York: Macmillan, 1937); Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927); George Henry Payne, History of Journalism in the United States (New York: D. Appleton, 1920); and James Melvin Lee, History of American Journalism, rev. ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1923).

[2] Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States, From 1690 to 1872 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873).

[3] The first inter-city line of Morse telegraph was opened for service May 22, 1844, between Baltimore and Washington. J. Cummings Vail, ed., Early History of the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph from Letters and Journals of Alfred Vail (New York: Hine Brothers, 1914), p. 17. A briefly serviceable Atlantic cable was completed on August 4, 1858, and the first successful cable was operative on July 27, 1866. Alvin F. Harlow, Old Wires and New Waves, The History of the Telegraph, Telephone, and Wireless (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936), pp. 230, 294-95.

[4] For a discussion of the transportation-communication distinction and relationship, see Allan R. Pred, Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), esp. pp. 12-19.

[5] Mott, op. cit., p. 48.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 154.

[8] Albion notes that British newspapers were less inclined to record ships' departures and arrivals than were American papers, making a similar study of eastbound passages impossible. Because of the prevailing westerly winds, however, "[e]astbound trips . . . were shorter and far more uniform" than westbound trips, Albion comments. Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Square-Riggers on Schedule: The New York Sailing Packets to England, France, and the Cotton Ports (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), p. 191.

[9] Improved packet design shortened the trips during this period, but not appreciably. During the first half of the period, the common range of passages westbound was thirty-one to forty-one days. Ibid., p. 200.

[10] Ibid., p. 192.

[11] Hudson, op. cit., pp. 450-51.

[12] In the wake of the Panic of 1837 Britons lamented that steamships had not been available earlier, many believing "that many of the substantial firms which failed [in the Panic] might have survived . . . had remittances from America not been delayed by the prevailing easterly winds," according to F. Lawrence Babcock in his Spanning the Atlantic (New York: Knopf, 1931), p. 30.

[13] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[14] Carl H. Scheele, A Short History of the Mail Service (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), p. 102.

[15] Babcock, op. cit., pp. 50-51, 74-75.

[16] For the most complete description of these early news expresses, see A. M. Lee, op. cit., pp. 481-92.

[17] Bartlett sold the Albion to William Young, son-in-law of A. S. Willington of the Charleston (S.C.) Courier on May 6, 1848. The paper was still in print in 1872. Hudson, op. cit., pp. 263, 313.

[18] New York Albion, 3:42 (Jan. 30, 1841). (Volume is a new series.)

[19] Tercentenary Handlist of English & Welsh Newspapers, Magazines & Reviews (London: The Times of London, 1920), p. 231.

[20] New York Albion, 3:75 (Feb. 27, 1841).

[21] New York Albion, 3:87 (March 6, 1841).

[22] Tercentenary Handlist . . ., op. cit., p. 231.

[23] Ibid., p. 232.

[24] Willmer & Smith's European Times, March 4, 1846, p. 2.

[25] The Chronicle is not even mentioned in James Grant's History of the Newspaper Press, 3 vols. (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1871-72), which devotes nine pages of Volume III, beginning on page 351, to Liverpool's journalism history.

[26] Biographical material is from Frederic Boase, Modern English Biography (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1921), VI:905.

[27] Ibid., VI:904, and The Times of London, Oct. 18, 1897, p. 6.

[28] Tercentenary Handlist . . . , op. cit., p. 234.

[29] Willmer & Smith's European Times, Jan. 4, 1843, p. 1.

[30] Willmer & Smith's European Times, March 5, 1844, p. 1., and March 4, 1846, p. 2.

[31] Willmer & Smith's European Times, Jan. 4, 1843, p. 2.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] The author has searched for copies of this newspaper for about ten years. The only known run of the European Times, reportedly a complete run, is in the British Museum, but the author has been unable to interest people in the United States in funding the microfilming of that file for deposit in this country. Moreover, the author has advertised without success in the Antiquarian Bookman since October 1979 for stray copies of all newspapers mentioned in this paper. The author, however, is grateful to Mr. Richard W. Spellman, 610 Monticello, Brick Town, N.J., a dealer in old newspapers, for providing the eight copies of the European Times listed in the text.

[35] The practice in the 1840s was to make up pages one and four first and use either page two or three for late-breaking news dispatches. After 1845, for example, telegraphic news dispatches and telegraphic postscripts regularly appeared on page two, and often in an adjacent column the editor's editorial comments reflected these late-breaking news dispatches.

[36] The Romer episode is described in Hudson, op. cit., pp. 530-35.

[37] Richard A. Schwarzlose, "Early Telegraphic News Dispatches: Forerunner of the AP," Journalism Quarterly, 51:598 (Winter 1974).